UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

A Danger Signal

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

The Green International

By C. F. ANSLEY

An Observer in Berlin

By SYDNEY STRONG

VOLUME XCI NUMBER 4

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

UNITY Fellowship

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCI THURSDAY, MARCH 22, 1923 NUMBER 4

DREAM THE GREAT DREAM.

Dream the Great dream, though you should dream—you only,
And friendless follow in the lofty quest:
Though the dream lead you to a desert lonely,
Or drive you, like the tempest, without rest,
Yet, toiling upward to the highest altar,
There lay before the Gods your gift supreme,—
A human heart whose courage did not falter
Though distant as Arcturus shone the Gleam.

The Gleam?—Ah, question not if others see it
Who nor the yearning nor the passion share;
Grieve not if children of the earth decree it—
The earth, itself—their Goddess, only fair;
The soul has need of prophet and redeemer,
Her outstretched wings against her prisoning bars,
She waits for truth; and truth is with the dreamer,—
Persistent as the myriad light of stars.

—From the Poems of Florence Earle Coates.

There is no wiser or more sober man among the radicals of England than Philip Snowden, M. P. In a recent statement, he gives way to almost utter despair as regards the condition of Europe. "Never since the outbreak of the war," he says, "have I myself felt so depressed and so hopeless as I have done during the last few weeks." He confesses that, while the war went on, it was possible to anticipate that peoples and governments would learn something from their sufferings and sacrifices, and reconstruct their world on a basis of lasting peace. But every expectation in this direction has now been disappointed! "The state of Europe to-day," says Mr. Snowden, "is one of more aggressive militarism, international hatred and passion than was the case in 1914." It is noticeable that, in saying this, the British Labor leader does not crow over the militarists who declared that the war was going to solve our problems if Germany were only destroyed and the Allies victorious. He finds no comfort in the demonstration of the truth of all that the pacifists were saying about the certainty of the war defeating its own best purposes. The time for that sort of thing has now passed by. The situation is far too serious for any time or strength to be expended in twitting one another for foolish hopes and futile prophecies. We all make mistakes, all live in vain imaginings! Caught in the tangle of the war, the millions who fought it, *had* to believe that they could bring something out of it for the salvation of mankind. The pacifists had all social experience, all psychology, all logic on their side. But the supporters of the war had on their side the creative power of the human spirit, which might conceivably in this case have wrought miracles. That they failed is no disgrace, especially in view of the essential hopelessness of their undertaking. It simply means that we have the problem of peace still with us, and that all good men, forgiving one another in love, must join hands in a new and final endeavor to save the world.

Where, oh where, are those great stores of ammunition, those hundreds of rapid-firing cannon and those enormous quantities of other war material, that are secreted in Germany? They must be there, for we have been told again and again of their existence. Where are the trained legions that have been masquerading as home guards and civil police? We have heard much of these also. But seriously, can any one believe that, if the vast stores of war material are at hand, and if this great army is in existence, that the situation in Germany would be what it is today? No one has as yet suggested that the Germans, from Hindenburg to the humblest veteran, have in some mysterious way been converted to the Gospel of Jesus. To be sure, one never can tell what may happen. The conversion story may soon appear to explain why the war materials and the army are not put in use. But the plain fact is that the present situation gives complete support to the reports of the Allies' Disarmament Commission to the effect that Germany has complied with the terms of the Versailles Treaty in the matter of arms and soldiers. It is well for the German people that this is true. Disarmed they are infinitely more powerful than they would be if armed. This fact grows more evident every day. If the Germans can hold to their present policy, the Ruhr will prove to be a Moscow for the French. Suffering there may be, and undoubtedly is, in Germany and even in France. In fact the back-lash of this business will bring suffering to all the world. Its effects are already beginning to be felt in America. But all this suffering is infinitesimal compared to what it would be if actual war, into which all the peoples of Europe would be drawn, should begin. But this horror cannot happen, just because Germany is disarmed and is compelled, whether she will or no, to adopt the pacifist policy.

Another evidence of disarmament is the fact, that the propagandists have for the present dropped their stories of hidden arms, and are now furnishing us with re-vamped stories of war atrocities.

The Wisconsin Bill to abolish the National Guard, duly noted in our correspondence columns in a letter from Chester C. Platt, was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 24 to 4. This is a disappointment, but by no means a discouragement. On the contrary we know of nothing that has so heartened us in recent months as the story of this particular piece of legislation. Here was an absolutely revolutionary proposal—that the National Guard of the state should be abolished, the armories closed, and in general the whole system of militarism be done away with. Nothing like it had ever been heard of before in this country—the newspapers at first all took it as a joke. It was only one more ridiculous socialist idea—only this one a little more ridiculous than any other! Then the people began to be heard from. The women and labor organizations, the Socialist Party and the powerful Non-Partisan League Group, Lieut.-Governor Cummins and other prominent political leaders, came out in favor of the bill. A public hearing was crowded with a great and enthusiastic body of supporters; and, to the astonishment of everybody, the bill was favorably reported to the lower house, and then passed by a thumping majority. The impossible had actually been achieved! That a second miracle could be added all at once to this first, was of course too much to expect. Such achievements as these are won only by processes of continued agitation and education. But with so much done at one amazing stroke, the rest is certain to follow in comparatively short order. The whole subject is now a burning public issue, and we can trust the swelling radical forces of Wisconsin never to let up, until the goal is reached. By Jove, think of it! One house of a legislature, and that the one nearest to the people, voting to get rid of the militia!! It's good to be alive.

It is a matter of sharp regret to us that Senator La Follette opposed this measure for the abolishment of the National Guard in Wisconsin, even if Mrs. La Follette proved herself "the better half" in the case by supporting it. It would take a long series of mistakes on "Bob's" part, however, for us to lose faith in and enthusiasm for this great leader. Hence the satisfaction with which we read of the passage of a resolution in the Wisconsin legislature denouncing the three hundred and fifty (350) members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin who declared in a round robin during the war that Senator La Follette's speeches had given "aid and comfort to the enemy." These professors were rightly described in the resolution as "unworthy of employment in such a great institution." No more fitting indictment was ever registered than this. At a time when public passion was running mad, when educated minds were desperately needed to defend and vindicate civilized ideals of tolerance and good-will, these cowardly professors, like the famous group of professors in Germany, allowed themselves to be used for the vilest political purpose. Like rabid dogs, they joined in the hunt for the blood of a brave and honest man standing heroically by basic American principles in a time of temptation and disaster. These men were and are "unworthy" of their great profession, not because of any ideas they may have had upon the war, but because they failed utterly to vindicate those ideals of intellectual and spiritual integrity which are supposed to be peculiarly in their keeping. They acted not like gentlemen and scholars, but like the veriest muckers of the city gutter—a mob panting hotly for the lynching bee! Well—time has its revenges, and this is one of them. La Follette, the victim, is now triumphant; the professors surrendered to the loathing of the people they betrayed!

Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare still affords an opportunity for the baiting instincts of one hundred percenters. The daily press reports that Mrs. O'Hare has been denied permission to speak in any building belonging to the University of Missouri. The President is reported to have said, "The committee on permits did not recognize the name and assumed from the subject of the lecture that it was to be on a sociological subject, harmless to students." As a reason for refusing Mrs. O'Hare permission to speak, this is, in classical language, "a daisy." It certainly deserves to be embalmed and kept as a sample of the ideal of education that prevailed in Missouri in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and twenty-three! The subject of Mrs. O'Hare's lecture was to have been "Crime and Criminals." To the shame of our country, but to the great good fortune of the derelicts, misfits and those who in their weakness and ignorance have come under the curse of the great god, Respectability, she is more than an expert in this subject. Mrs. O'Hare was accused during the war of saying certain words in a public address which brought her under the operation of the Espionage Law. This address was given in a large number of cities and was heard by officers of the government. No complaint was made until after she had given it in a small town in North Dakota. At her trial, five persons who attended her lecture, swore that she did not utter the words attributed to her. However, one person who attended and four who did not swore than she did say them. She was convicted and sentenced to four years in a Missouri penitentiary. After her conviction, responsible people in the little community, who had not testified in the trial, continued to affirm that Mrs. O'Hare had never said the words

in question. After she had been in prison for almost two years, the affidavits of more than one hundred persons who attended the lecture were presented to President Wilson. These persons testified that the words in question had never been uttered. This resulted in the pardon of Mrs. O'Hare. She returned to her home, her husband and four children, to continue the work which she never dropped, even in prison, the work for those who suffer because of "Man's inhumanity to Man (which) makes countless thousands mourn." In prison she was the means of stopping abuses, and securing some reforms. To her unfortunate sisters she was an angel of light, mercy, and hope. Her letters to her family, which many of her friends were permitted to read, revealed a gentle, tender soul, suffering because of the cruel wrongs done to weak and ignorant women by selfish and cruel men. Those women, to so many only loathsome creatures, were to her sisters upon whom she lavished her love. She saw in these broken, maimed and warped companions, remnants of that divine spark which united them with all humanity. To many she must have appeared as a visitor from another world, so different was she from anyone in the world in which they lived. She was able to help because she had a wisdom enlightened by a sympathy which knew no barriers of creed, color or even of sin. The President of the University is reported to have said that she was not a fit person to address the students. We do not know of any person half so fit to address any audience in America on the subject of "Crime and Criminals."

John G. Cooper, representative from Ohio and a prominent labor leader for many years, has been saying some straight things about Prohibition. He derides the idea that organized labor in this country, as suggested by Mr. Gompers, is in favor of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment or the weakening of the Volstead Act. Mr. Gompers has a right to speak for himself, says Mr. Cooper, but

> I challenge his right to say that he speaks for organized labor. . . . When Mr. Gompers says that the working classes are practically unanimous in favor of repealing the Volstead Act, he does not voice the real sentiments of labor.

Mr. Cooper then gets down to facts in charging that the labor conventions which have gone on record in favor of breaking down Prohibition, were "packed with wet delegates" selected from the hundreds of small craft unions formerly affiliated with the liquor interests. All this indicates that we do not always get correct information about public sentiment on this question. Another instance to the same effect is seen in what is going on in New York State to-day. The assembling of the Legislature was hailed as the opening of a great campaign to put New York on the map as a "wet" state. Drastic action was to be taken against the Amendment, the Volstead Act, the local enforcement acts. The "wets" could not contain themselves for very glee. Everything started well, with the passage of an address to Congress calling for the repudiation of Volsteadism. Then—something happened! The bills didn't seem to come out of committee. The proposed investigation of the Anti-Saloon League was voted down in committee 10 to 2. Now comes the word that no further action along these lines can be expected. The "wet" campaign has gone to pieces! The people have been heard from! New York is not "wet" at all, but "dry"! If ever there was a policy which had the backing of the people of this country, it is Prohibition. It is here to stay.

Nicholas Murray Butler's attack on the Chicago preachers for "intolerance" is enough to make cats laugh and angels weep. Righteous men it should make indignant and resentful. By what right does President Butler denounce other men for "intolerance"? Who has done more to teach our people this "besetting sin," as he calls it, than this notorious pedagogical autocrat? For years he has hunted and hounded those in his university who have disagreed with him, and destroyed all not powerful enough to defy his inquisitorial persecution. The host of scholars driven from Columbia by this man in recent years—Spingarn, Cattell, Dana, Mussey, Beard, Robinson, Ardzrooni—rise up to confound him at this hour. One might be tempted to have an ounce or two of sympathy for President Butler if his intolerance were the fruit of real conviction—but it is not. President Butler has no convictions. He has only ideas, which he takes over ready-made from the Republican Party, the wealthy trustees of his university, the business and social set in which he moves. Like a railroad time-table he is ready to "change without notice," just as he changed over-night from a pacifist to a militarist in the days of the Great War. No honest mind can have, or does have, anything but contempt for such a man. Nicholas Murray Butler denouncing the Chicago preachers for "intolerance," is like Benedict Arnold denouncing George Washington for treason. Nicholas Murray Butler condemning these preachers for deserting Christianity, is like Caiaphas denouncing Christ for infidelity. Let the President of Columbia University read scripture to his profit! "Physician, heal thyself."

Mr. H. G. Wells makes no bones about saying what he thinks the church must do to regain its lost prestige. Asked by the New York *American* to comment on the Grant-Manning controversy, he stated:

> I would suggest that Christianity sell all that it hath and follow after Jesus of Nazareth, that it scrap its theologies and organizations and, taking neither scrip nor purse, set out to find the lost Kingdom of God.

There you have it, brethren! "Scrap its theologies!" That means, get rid of all the creeds. The liberal

churches have done this, to their everlasting credit, be it said. But there is more! Christianity must "scrap its organizations" as well. This is the next step, which, alas, the liberal churches seem as reluctant to take as the orthodox churches. To "scrap organizations" means, of course, to get rid of the denominations, to drop for good and all the sectarian names and offices and missionary boards and church extension funds, to merge all existing churches in one great and inclusive church which should have no organization other than that of fellowship and co-operation among men. It is here that the challenge is being spoken to-day, and, outside the community church movement in its various phases, is *not* being answered. Nay, denominational lines seem to be drawn tighter to-day than ever before, at least in recent years. But what do the people care about it all? What do Presbyterian, or Methodist, or Baptist, or even Catholic and Protestant, mean to them? Less and less every day. Popular contempt for the church is growing every day, as Mr. Wells rightly emphasizes, and it will continue to grow until the church comes back "into intimate and helpful relationship to the community at large." Community religion is the secret of restoration.

A Danger Signal

The United States, like every other country at the present time, is beset behind and before with grave problems. Many of these problems are due to a temporary disorganization of international relations and have not arisen primarily from the native life of this country, and are thus not necessarily indicative of a fundamental weakness of our own national life. They are symptoms of a common weakness belonging to all western civilization, and as such should give us pause in the same degree and manner that they engage the minds of all thoughtful Europeans.

But there are other questions which come particularly near to us because we are a particular people and have sole responsibility for the conditions within our own power. Among these questions and conditions, there are certain test problems which are generally realized to be highly indicative of the health of a civilization. To use a shop worn phrase, they are the pulse which reveals the heart action of a nation. If this test reveals weakness, it is a fairly sure sign that danger is at hand for the body politic. The wise nation which sees the danger signal will instantly repair to an expert in diagnosis and will adopt the prescribed regimen for restoring health. It will mend its ways or prepare for death.

Among these tests which are recognized as symptomatic, one of the surest and most important is the condition of the courts and the method of administration of justice. The judicial function of a government is one of the basic functions, because the orderly evaluation of a people depends upon the security and integrity of its legal processes. The average citizen seldom invokes the law and rarely becomes entangled in a trial. But every citizen knows that behind his undisturbed life and work there is an institution whose chief business is to interpret justice, to secure obedience to law, to prevent recourse to violence and anarchy, and to assist in maintaining equity between citizens in a complex and intricate world. It is this knowledge, sometimes almost subconscious, which forms a background to the every day life of a nation and which forms one of the most important symptoms of its health or disease.

How is it in the United States? Has the danger signal appeared? If so, what does it portend? Let us look at some of the facts which seem to indicate that the danger has appeared.

1st. During the war the process of justice seemed to be swept by the same passions and prejudices which took possession of other institutions, distorted their purposes and revealed their weaknesses. We are hurt but not surprised when the press and the pulpit become instruments of passion. But these functions are voluntary. We can turn to another paper and can make new pulpits when the old seem to have lost their original purity. But when courts become weak and when they turn aside from true methods of justice then we have no other recourse, for these institutions are not voluntary. They are beyond our control and we are their subjects. We have to accept their dictates, whether we like it or not. All the power of the army, navy and police force are behind them, and the private citizen has therefore no recourse or appeal beyond them. Such being the case, it is of utmost importance that justice be not subject to the same mob mind which despoils our voluntary institutions.

But we know that during the war there was injustice and even illegal practice in our highest institutions. Many of those who held offices of law interpretation sanctioned these illegal practices. The result is the danger signal; namely, that there is a growing distrust and suspicion of law and the courts of the United States. We realize fully the gravity of this statement. But after all the statement is not so grave as the fact. The dangerous person is not the one who tells a radical truth, but the one who refuses to tell it. And the truth is that one result of the war has been to undermine confidence in the purity, stability and integrity of our administration of law.

2nd. Another source of danger is the widespread suspicion that the courts are prejudiced against certain classes and that it is almost impossible to secure im-

partial justice for them. The famous cases of the I. W. W. in their trial at Chicago are illustrations. Many of the men were thrown into filthy jails and had to wait for months before being brought before the court. During the trial men were chained together and marched through the streets like convicts, though they were supposed to be innocent until proved guilty. They were tried *in a group,* so that their individual cases were prejudiced by all the others. Patriotic and military music is reported to have been played outside the court so that the jurors could hear and be swayed emotionally against the prisoners. There is certainly no thoughtful citizen today who can truthfully deny that prejudice against classes has not had its direful influence in the administration of justice.

Another and more terrible case in point is the condition of the negro in the sections of the South where lynchings, burnings, and other methods of violent death are practiced in substitution for the orderly processes of justice. It has been said that in these sections almost any man can start a riot against almost any negro at almost any time. Passions run so high that the explosive material of prejudice can be set off at the slightest provocation. But when do the courts bring the offenders to trial? And what jury would convict if they were?

Much the same situation exists in the matter of foreigners, for the prejudice against them extends to juries and to communities in such a way as to bring about many flagrant denials of true justice.

The danger lies in the fact that whole classes of people, such as radical laborers, negroes, foreigners, shall lose confidence in this supremely important function of government and thus be led to distrust all that it stands for. Can any nation allow great masses of its population to become thus alienated without the gravest results?

3rd. The matter of witnesses and their veracity has become a common scandal. In the first place our new knowledge of psychology helps us to understand better than ever before the importance of suggestibility at moments of emotional stress. The methods of questioning and cross-questioning have become an art which employs this device to such extent that the witness becomes confused. He no longer can tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," for he must tell only what fits into a scheme of prosecution and defense. The trial becomes a battle for both sides, and the witness is the tool, used and abused, rather than being a free man whose one purpose is to stand firmly on his convictions and tell what he saw without fear or favor. The method of witnessing before the court as it is at present carried on, is becoming increasingly suspected on the grounds of psychology and of effectiveness for truth. And furthermore perjury is becoming so common as to be called the most common crime in America. The writer remembers the impression which a young lawyer received from a trial court which he put into these terms: "The witness lied, I knew that he lied, the opposing attorneys knew that he lied and the judge knew that he lied." This state of affairs is alarming and yet little or nothing is done about it. The most famous of recent cases is that of the Saco and Vanzetti trial, where several of the witnesses have signed affidavits to the effect that they gave false statements under duress. Then with equal ease the opposing side secures affidavits from the same witnesses that their first statements were made under duress. And so it goes. And yet despite the perfectly apparent unreliability of such kind of witnesses, men are convicted, held in prison, and sometimes sent to their death.

We say that these facts are of tremendous importance and something must be done. If nothing is done to reform these conditions, the classes and persons who have suffered most from this perversion of justice are apt to resort to violence and anarchy. As a certain labor organizer recently said: We are waiting the answer of America to these questions. If we are to become brutes and have recourse to violence let us all know it, so that we can all have an equal chance. If America is to be a civilized country, let us have a true justice which will be above suspicion.

The way to have law, order, and peace in a country is to have a justice in which all can have absolute confidence. This is a hard task and a great ideal. Let us set ourselves to it with a will.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

A Letter from Jane Addams

[Editorial Note: The following letter has been received by Mr. Holmes from Jane Addams, dated Hotel Cecil, Delhi, February 6th. It contains information which we know will be of great interest to our readers and we are therefore venturing the liberty of printing it herewith.]

My dear Mr. Holmes:

I have found it impossible to see Gandhi. He is allowed but two visitors in each three months; naturally his wife is one, and his followers are eager for the other chance. I have seen a good many of his people, one of them a most charming and spiritually-minded young man, in charge of the spinning school at Gandhi's home. One hundred and fifty of them live there, learning to weave and spin and to understand life. It is a beautiful spot in the midst of huge, experimental cotton fields. It was like the beginnings of a religious order, as the Franciscans must have been before St. Francis's death!

All this is preliminary to saying that I have sent you by post a Gandhi cap. We see them all over the country as they are worn by his followers—sometimes in groups—and it does give one a certain thrill, although candor compells me to state that they are not so picturesque as the turbans.

Faithfully yours, JANE ADDAMS.

An Observer in Berlin

Editorial Correspondence.

I went out to Potsdam yesterday—the day the French marched into Essen, a day that will be long remembered by Germany, a day that will not bring ultimate glory and prosperity to France. Potsdam is the place where all good tourists go—the residence of the Kaisers since the days of Frederick the Great. It is a half hour's railway journey to the west, and it cost me 400 marks—or four cents. I might have gone out in a glass-covered motor omnibus, for which I would have paid 15,000 marks round trip.

The Home of the Kaisers.

My train took me to Wild Park—the second station beyond Potsdam, where royalty used to alight or take passage. When I alighted, the special station-house—an immense one—was pointed out as the one used by the Kaiser. It is now unused. I paid my 1000 marks to be shown through the big palace where the Kaisers have lived; but instead of going through the small palace which was used in summer, I preferred to wander around the beautiful park. I confess my tastes have changed since the days I once rubber-necked through the galleries and palaces and ruins of England and Europe. The big palace that Frederick the Great built is grand, as far as palaces go: but with its gilt and silvering and barbaric coloring; with its ball-room and billiard-rooms and bed where the Kaiser slept; with its private apartments—it's all a kind of mausoleum. I got as tired of it as I do of museums.

There was a party of Americans seeing the palace. It was impossible not to observe how they "love a lord." Almost reverently they gazed upon the bed the Kaiser slept in. One of them seemed to know a little of the history of the royal family—better than that of Lincoln's or Garrison's probably—and on seeing a portrait of Prince Heinrich—brother of Frederick the Great—he burst out, "That's the one that died," and everybody laughed. The Anglo-Saxon is almost incurably bourgeois-minded, but we are moving. The palaces—and all they hold—are beautiful. But so is a peacock! I was delighted to walk a few minutes with an American college girl—who certainly has thrown over-board "kiddish illusions," as she called them. And she tore out a page of her life's history for me, when she related how about a year ago she had been at Versailles and all the "kiddish illusions" about royalty and privilege played about her, and she "was supremely happy: and thought I had realized my ideals. But last week I visited some of the hospitals and clinics and feeding stations in Berlin, and got close to the girls who are battling literally for their daily bread; and in the need and sorrow of the world I found the real thing, and I found myself. The things of Versailles, and these things like Potsdam's palaces are all nauseous to me, for they are dead." And I said to her, "Go to it, young lady. You have probably got some hard sledding ahead, but you are on the road of life."

American Sympathy.

This was the day that French troops would enter Essen; I understand that America will withdraw her troops from the Rhein. Good for her! Why wasn't it done long ago? But clumsy old Columbia is coming along—although led by the nose by Britannia, which is no joke.

I look for a rush of sympathy now in America, and throughout the world, toward Germany. Ambassador Houghton has just presented $20,000.00 to the German Red Cross. The money will do good, although I should have put it in the Child Feeding work. But the Red Cross is properly conservative, and when a government wishes to express a friendly feeling toward another government, perfectly respectable institutions are selected as intermediaries. I think Uncle Sam will now show a lot of tender attitudes toward Berlin: so much so, that it may be necessary to turn peacemaker, to see that France gets a fair hearing. How clumsy and brutal nations are—and yet some men get red in the face if one suggests that they are not infallible! Speaking of little overtures—I happened yesterday to step into the American Institute, 8 University-strasse, and a reception was on for the professors of the University. Naturally enough the professors are not all reconstructed and this reception was a little kneading process. The only American present was Ambassador Houghton who has the reputation of being a good mixer—though no one knows whether the first syllable of his name rhymes with "snuff," "dough," "wow" or "who." So the nations are slowly feeling their way back to the "good old relations" that existed before the war—and it will take a quarter of a century. There are many things to be said in favor of a swift change, a revival, a revolution, that will strike forward.

Two Women Doctors.

The same day I had 5 o'clock tea with two very interesting women. Again material for a magazine article. They are Dr. Russell and Dr. Hedwig Kette. They have practiced together as dentists for over 25 years at Lützow Platz 12—in the same office. One is American, born in Philadelphia, of far back American ancestry. The other is a German woman who came to the Pennsylvania Dental College and graduated in 1896 (by the way, I am told that it was a German girl who was the first woman dental graduate in America)—her friend Dr. Russell graduated in 1895. The two college girls decided to put their name on the same shingle, and chose Berlin. They have been successful in their profession. They are as active as two girls. What is more to the point they—an American and a German—lived happily together all through the war. Dr. Russell said that she was beautifully treated by the Germans—and in no way molested. She did not give up her Americanism. The only "unpatriotic" thing she did was to write her father "not to join the irrational mob." As I left, I sincerely lifted my hat to the women who so gloriously had demonstrated internationalism.

A Chance Acquaintance.

The same evening at 8:30, a little porter-maid with a key let me through a great iron gate at 13 Joachimsthalerstr.—relics of the medieval are ever in evidence—and showed me to the top floor where I had been invited for a "musical evening." It was the home of a chance acquaintance—a Jewish physician—who kindly took the stranger in. I went—not knowing where it

would lead. It was a delightful surprise. I found a half dozen married couples gathered in the doctor's home for a social evening; and they shared their music, tea and cake with me. At least two of the hours were spent in music on piano and violin. There was a lad of 14 who played like a master. I have no doubt he will be known to the musical world. Half the company participated. Half also were able to speak in understandable English. One lady said to me, "When the English come to Germany we must speak English. When we go to England we must also speak English." I am uncertain as to whether this is due to English obstinacy or German cleverness. The music that evening was of the best. I was asked about composers in America. I regret to say that I could only remember McDowell. The most of the names I had seen on American programs were Schubert, Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Wagner, etc., and their fathers did not travel with Penn or Elder Brewster. I found that the group was Jewish. I wonder if any but Jewish people would have taken me—a street acquaintance—into their beautiful home. The Jews possess the most international mind of any people I meet. I hope they will not settle in Palestine and become nationalized. To show you the social difficulties under which the people are laboring, the doctor said, they had waited four years to be married. They could get no house from the allotment committee. They would still be unmarried if he had not been a physician. I asked the group how many times a musical group like this could be duplicated in Berlin. "By less than one per cent of the population," it was thought. I went home a little before midnight, thankful I had been allowed to breathe the atmosphere of this refined home—rich in culture and books. It is no breach of confidence, I hope, to add that one couple was late because they had to walk—no money for the fare.

AN AMERICAN QUAKER AT THE UNIVERSITY.

This evening I attended a lecture by Alfred C. Garrett in one of the rooms of the University. The topic was "George Fox, or the Rise of Quakerism." Mr. Garrett is from Philadelphia and is a prominent Friend, in fact is, I believe, head of the Garrett Bible Institute. The scene had dramatic aspects: that George Fox, an English weaver's son of the 17th century, should have himself talked about in the 20th century, and in the University halls of Berlin! The Quakers have really made a hit in Germany, although it took a big war and three centuries to do it. They are known all over Germany for their feeding—"if thine enemy hunger, feed him"—and a company of 250 students came to hear Mr. Garrett on uneducated George Fox. He told the story in English, and did well. It is an interesting story, how Fox became a "seeker for a lost God" and concluded that he could not find him until he had found the light in his own soul. He could find no help in priest or Bible: but he found his authority in divine companionship with God. This was his religion. He suffered terrible persecutions. At last, however, he gathered about him 60 young men who went preaching the gospel. They had no college, no head, they said that following the inner light would lead to all truth.

The lecture gave me a chance to ask what message Quakerism has for Germany and the world—for, like Fox, I am seeking to find some movement with power to save, but have not yet found it, going from Australia to Russia. Unquestionably, the Quakers have the right human approach, i. e., through friendship and kindness. They show how to gain attention and confidence, i. e., by service. They are fairly well acquainted with the principles of non-violence; and practice them with gentleness, but not with the effect of Gandhi. Where, I should think, they ought to be aflame, they show no fire. And when it comes to the great burning industrial problems, I fear that some of the leaders are too well fed to understand, and without understanding, there is not knowledge. I am looking for the man or movement that is taking the principles of George Fox, and preaching them with the single eye of a Gandhi, with the social consciousness of Lenine. I believe that a world of youthful life would rise up and follow such leading. This is the kind of movement the Germans—mystical, musical, warm-hearted, lovable—need at this crisis: The time is ripe for a Christ: but the only signs I can see point to the fall of Jerusalem.

January 12, 1923. SYDNEY STRONG.

The Periscope

A friend came to me the other day greatly perplexed. He had been reflecting upon the social and political problems of our day, and upon our effort to solve these problems through educating man to exercise intelligent control, to so order his conduct as to realize for himself and the society in which he lives the best possible life. Such a method for obtaining a life rich in cultural and social values was, in his opinion, comparable to learning kindness and courtesy from a book on etiquette. "Why not," he asked, "gain these ends not by laws and orders but by creating nobility of spirit, by developing such lofty characters that the petty problems of social adjustment will cease to be?" He believes that if an individual was lifted above the disturbing frictions of our inharmonious contacts by the power of some lofty all-absorbing interest, these social conflicts would be eliminated. Gossip, the animalistic tendency toward selfishness, and the innate passion for recognition would cease to exert themselves if mankind found, because of his profound concern for spiritual values, such materialistic properties of but inconsequential worth; if, because of his attachment to a larger idea or purpose they became through comparison, too puerile for enjoyment. "Surely," concluded my friend with fervor and eloquence, "there is back of man's constant struggle for a more noble life, a deep yearning, an underlying inherent passion, an impulse, an urge, which, if given sufficient opportunity for expression and development, would so ennoble his character as to cause an unconscious adjustment of his social relationships."

"What is the nature of this impulse or urge?" I asked. My friend then went on to explain that it was a quest for cosmic companionship, a search for a relationship with the universe which will cause man to feel that he is not apart from, but rather part and parcel of the great cosmic whole; that there exists a unity, a oneness in nature, and that in that universal all, man has a place which entitles him to security and a spirit of copartnership. "In this quest magnificent," said my friend, "lies the very core of religion." Then he continued his plea for this cosmic consciousness by

referring to the mammoth photographic telescopes which have revealed to us four hundred million suns, and that back of these millions there are other millions too distant for the astronomer's lenses to record, while around all these stars there probably revolve planets such as Mars, Jupiter and Earth. Where among these quadrillions of worlds is man to look for assurance of his worth, for a friendly relationship which will enrich his life by the superb enhancement which consciousness of vital contact with this eternal, evolving process can afford? In lonely detachment, in bewildered fear and distrust will man remain so long as through the eons he is forced to grope as naught but an organic speck desperately clinging to a grain of star-dust, which grain is hopelessly obscured in an infinite sea of solar splendors. But if in this great baffling cosmic order man can feel himself to be an integral part, can secure a sense of at-homeness, oneness, friendliness; can realize his relationship with the total whole and thereby consciously co-operate in the realization of cosmic ends, then, said my friend, "he will be able through this realization of his innate quest for these higher spiritual values, to elevate himself to true nobility." And in this nobility of character my friend believes that mankind will become courteous and righteous in his social relationships not because of imposed ethical laws, but because he has experienced a change of heart, because he has been lifted up to higher planes, to greater values, to loftier ideas, to a nobler character.

It requires, as my friend has intimated, the poetic, æsthetic, spiritual values in religion to create nobility of soul, and it takes great noble souls to make an effective, harmonious social order.

EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

The Green International

On Parnassus, the work of shepherding still proceeds as in the days of Pericles or of Helen. Virgil could plan the season's work for a modern Italian vine-dresser. In contemporary Palestine, painters find the life of the New Testament and the Old. If Tut-ankh-amen should achieve his resurrection, he might know his fields.

Excavators are now uncovering ruined cities below ruined cities, each separated from its predecessor by the debris of centuries. Each has been an eternal city; the credit of its rich men once was not doubted; its real property was their conservative investment. The fall of nations is the fall of cities; fields and their people endure.

In our time doubts of the future of Europe concern its cities. Some of those cities are beyond doubts; they have crumbled. On the land around them the peasants survive except in drouth-stricken regions to which reluctant serfs had been ordered by a czar. Travellers say that peasants elsewhere now have wheat bread who never had it before. They have no surplus, but relatively they prosper; they have abundance that their lives had not known. They escape starvation, but the diversified agriculture of the man with the hoe on his little farm well tilled is not the kind of farming that can support cities.

From Norway to Greece and from Ireland across the eastern hemisphere to Japan, cities and governments have acquired new interest in farmers. The king of England recommends lending them more money which, as here, they seem reluctant to borrow. England has long deliberately neglected agriculture, which has not been as lucrative as manufacture and commerce. The moat about the tight little island has enabled a navy to assure importations of wheat. Human progress has now brought us to battle-planes and gas-bombs, making moats and navies unreliable, and modern strategy has developed its outstanding detail, economic strangulation. In these ways as in others, our cycle is rounded to contemplation of the trades of Cain and Abel and the foresight of Joseph.

In Denmark a king is secure because he assents to what the farmers wish. As Frederic C. Howe gracefully says, "He is retained as a titular monarch because of his acquiescence in democratic institutions." "The state is a farmers' state." Russia has a dictatorship of the proletariat well aware that it must not dictate anything displeasing to the peasantry. By preference farmers do not seek offices as they do not make wars; but when conditions are sufficiently unfavorable to their farming, they can produce no surplus. Then everything disappears but farming, which remains. In his Moscow address of November 13, 1922, Lenin said: "We have been successful for the reason that the peasantry has been siding with us." "That the peasantry is the decisive factor in our country no one doubts." The Commissariat of Internal Affairs recognizes that the peasants "are in fact the rulers of the country."

Of Japan the Tokyo newspaper *Kokumin* reports: "With the progress of commerce and industry a serious shortage of labor has been caused among the agricultural villages." Japanese farm workers are abandoning their meager fields, and American farmers sell rice to Japan. In India farmers are zealously restoring such home industries as weaving. Patriotism is not the primary motive; Daniel Swamidoss, secretary for rural work of the national council of the Y. M. C. A. in India, explains that "the hope lies in industry to supplement the income from the land or reduce the supply of farm labor to a point where it begins to have some commercial value." Even in India, farmers can not continue to produce a surplus unless the surplus pays for the work it requires. In Japan importation of Chinese and Koreans for farm labor is proposed, but ways of keeping them from entering more attractive employments have not been suggested. Bayonets could not now farm, as they can not mine coal.

Concerning the economics of agriculture, there is a plentiful lack of statistics. The great libraries in the social sciences discuss factories and slums; farms seem obscure regions from which raw materials are transported, "a sort of 'terrain vague' rendered desolate by economic laws and habitable only by those who are willing to defy them." To investigate a thousand city workers requires less time and gasoline than to investigate a thousand farmers and yields a more lucrative Ph.D. Errors in farm accounting are easily made. The farmer's second-hand Ford and the plutocrat's Rolls-Royce rank as automobiles though they differ in aspect and function. The farmer's corn and his hogs have been counted in his output, though the hogs had eaten the corn. When the American farmer has pocketed a ten million dollar profit as was recently

proclaimed in papers generally throughout the land, the impression produced on readers is different from the impression of the individual farmer who has acquired a dollar and fifty cents; the money may have helped him to pay for the Paris green that he used in growing potatoes that he could not sell. Figures seem nearest to the actualities of farm life when they represent real receipts and expenditures of real farmers.

The average labor income of farmers in eight representative areas has been estimated by the Office of Farm Management and Farm Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture on the basis of real farm accounts. After allowing interest on the farmer's investment (at 5 per cent in six groups and at 6 and 7 per cent in the others), the average farmer in seven of the eight groups was found to have a deficit as the result of his year's labor in 1921; for the privilege of farming, the average farmer of a group has paid from $181 (dairy farmers of Dane County, Wisconsin) to $2,463 (hog and cattle men of Tama County, Iowa). The dairy farmers of Hillsboro county, New Hampshire, were the only group to average any gain from their year's labor; their average gain was $576. The year is considered a time of depression. The group most fortunate in any year for which the results have been published were the wheat growers of Washington and Idaho in 1919, at the peak of the profiteering alleged against farmers; the average gain of this group in 1919 was $1,826; the average loss of the same group was $1,080 in 1920 and $2,197 in 1921. "Normalcy" is understood to be the condition of 1913. For that year's labor the average farmer of a group received from $87 to $709. The average of the averages for 1913 is $356; that is the "normalcy" to which farmers are encouraged to hope that they may return. The average of the averages for 1921 was a deficit of $780.

Mr. Sidney A. Reeve may or may not be an economist; certainly he is an engineer, and probably he could at least defend his figures against another man's. In "Modern Economic Tendencies," he has classified the services paid for by ultimate consumers as "productive" and "commercially combative." Under "productive" he includes not merely such services as those of farmers and of workers in factories and in transportation and communication but also such services as those, for example, of physicians, teachers, journalists and clergymen. His investigations begin with the census of 1850, the earliest American census to give usable detailed information. In 1850, "commercialism" absorbed 17.3 cents of the consumer's dollar, leaving 82.7 cents to "production." In 1860, commercialism absorbed 22 cents; in 1870, 24.9 cents; in 1880, 29.6 cents; in 1890, 34.7 cents; in 1900, 36.6 cents; in 1910, 44.2 cents; and in 1920, 52.5 cents. The diminution is accelerating. It is estimated that the farmer now receives 37 cents of the dollar that the consumer pays for his products. The situation seems not temporary but a development in the one major industry now left without organization in a world of organized interests.

Co-operative marketing has demonstrated the possibility of dividing the consumer's dollar differently to the advantage of both the consumer and the farmer. The drift toward co-operation is a hopeful thing in the world; the question is whether the drift is fast enough. For the average farmer it is not. His power to hasten the drift is limited. . The accessible solution to many an individual's problem is to go to the city. That is the solution in Japan, in England, in America, and wherever commercialism has not been succeeded by chaos, as in Austria, or prevented by co-operation, as in Denmark.

Without doubt, hope of an increase in the value of lands, an "unearned increment," has had some share in the inspiration of farming. The man who drains swamps or grubs stumps hopes that his land grows more valuable. Since 1920 the value of farm land has decreased rapidly, and farming hereafter is not likely to be upheld by hope alone. From 1850 to 1920, farm lands in the United States averaged an annual increase in value amounting to compound interest on the 1850 valuation at the rate of 2.65 per cent. This increase includes a land boom which has had much more than its share of attention in headlines. The boom lasted long enough to permit five per cent of farm land owners to unload; it did not help other farmers. It has helped to divert attention from interests that have lately been declaring stock dividends that explain why those interests never invest in farm lands. The agrarian movement in the United States would not be perceptibly different if it included no men who bought land when its price was higher than before or since. The "unearned increment" since 1850 probably falls far short of making the work done in taming wild land a profitable investment of labor. In the American plutocracy, agriculture is not represented.

The absentee landlord is easily identified and is accessible as a scapegoat. In much of the farming country at least, misfortune rather than villainy has brought him to his state. Farm land is a slow asset, and when a farmer fails, dies, or leaves farming because of ill health, old age, more lucrative employment or any other reason, tenancy is likely to increase because the land finds a tenant when it can not find a buyer. It pays a tenant better to invest his limited capital in equipment than to invest it in land. Farm landlords welcome buyers, but money is not attracted to the business of owning farm land. Taxes and upkeep on farms make rentals a low interest or none. In general it is not grasping buyers that create farm landlordism; their absence creates it. Tenancy is admittedly undesirable; but major problems would remain unsolved if farm landlords were relieved of their holdings. Whether a farmer has put all his money into equipment or has been able to buy his land also, an efficient toll-gate between him and the ultimate consumer may affect the fruits of his labors. The toll-gate may become a much more attractive investment than farm land. Unaccompanied by other measures, nationalizing farm land does not increase the food supply; it ends hopes that have sustained unprofitable farming and the improvement of farms.

The growth of efficiency at the toll-gate since 1850 may suggest one reason why farmers feel a community of interest with wage-earners despite the reasons zealously urged against it. Farmers are told that high wages add to the cost of producing crops. New York has one farm-hand to every six farms. If he can earn high wages, farmers and their families can earn high wages also. If he can not earn high wages, neither can they. Moreover, farmers' sons and daughters are going to the cities; from February 1, 1922, to February 1, 1923, the farm population of New York decreased four per cent. Farmers are interested in the welfare of labor in the cities as in the country. They know more about such matters than newspapers tell them, for sons and daughters write home.

In 1910, workers who were not managing farms but

were employed on their home farms numbered in the United States 3,310,534. By 1920, the number had decreased to 1,850,119. The young men and women were leaving their farm homes for the cities, which were and are growing rapidly. The census gives evidence but once in ten years, but there are indications enough that the rate of the migration from country to city is accelerating. Explanations commonly given are that farmers are becoming more efficient and that they are making more use of machinery. The implement trade reports that in the past eight years American farmers have spent for machinery a billion dollars less than would have been needed to meet depreciation. An investigation in North Dakota has shown that in the year 1921 "farms operating tractors lost $688 more money than those not using tractors." If New York farmers become more efficient at the rate of four per cent per annum, their future seems bright; but in America as in England, grass is taking the place of crops that require more labor.

America's surplus of farm products for export now amounts to about 15 per cent of all American farm products. The price of surplus wheat is made in Liverpool, and this determines the price of wheat on American farms. In Liverpool, American wheat growers compete with the wheat growers of Canada, Australia and Argentina, who also are in distress and who together produce about as much export wheat as the United States. No business but agriculture is conducted in this way. Except where co-operation has brought relief in some detail, agriculture is bearing the full burden of the profit system and is weakening under that unprecedented load. The profit system arrives at war upon itself by its own new strategy of economic strangulation. That may now be the meaning of famines, and the profit system may or may not be competent to end them. Mr. H. N. Brailsford thinks that it is not,—that the profit system cannot now feed itself. It is constructed to increase winnings at the toll-gate, not to decrease them. Its foundation is individual greed.

If American farm products were reduced by 16 per cent, one per cent more than is now exported, American farmers would have many advantages, including the advantage from the tariff on wheat and corn which exemplifies the measures so far taken in their behalf. The government might not then need to relieve banks of financing farmers; their credit might exceed their requirements. Farm products in this time of railroads, steamships and commercialism are promptly transported and sold. A surplus is penalized, and there is now an actual shortage in the world. No longer anywhere is a surplus stored against lean years as once was usual on every farm.

Mr. Roger W. Babson, who not long ago advised farmers to "quit joy-riding and go to work," now says that "twenty per cent of the American farmers must stop farming and get into some other business before agriculture will prosper." Congressman Luce, of Massachusetts, opposing rural credits, said: "Of course, the one remedy when you raise more than the world will buy is to stop raising so much food. That is what we people in the manufacturing centers do." These solutions, urged in a time of famine, are in perfect harmony with venerable economic theory, and farmers are accepting them. If farming is reduced by an adequate percentage, agriculture will share in prosperity, especially in years of poor crops. The Secretary of Agriculture is reported to have said in a recent address that "a most hopeful sign of the times is the fact that farmers by the thousands are leaving the farm and going to towns and cities." The evangel of restricting production is new to agriculture though long basic in other industries. The conversion manifests enthusiasm. Communication and transportation have gained immeasurably in recent years; response to conditions is less retarded than formerly by ignorance and the hardships of travel. That farmers enough will learn prevailing economic theory and practice seems not impossible. Even in ancient Rome, farmers finally got the idea and came to town. The gate seems to open one way more easily than the other. In the past, counter migrations have lagged. In Europe now, the way to the farm makes exactions of capital, strength and skill.

The good life is not unattainable in the country and many prefer to seek it there. It must be in the country or it does not stay in the city. Equilibrium is attained by adding to one scale or taking from the other; the Green International may bring deprivation or gain. A special correspondent of *The Nation* wrote on February 3: "Again this week the decision of the peasant representatives to cut off Munich's food supply in case of a *putsch* stopped Hitler when he had no reason to fear the shifty Government." "Dr. Heim, leader of the peasants' political and economic organizations, known as 'the uncrowned king of Bavaria,' prevented the dictatorship in September." "While the peasants continue to support it, the Government and not Hitler will rule." Denmark's way to the Green International began with education. Country schools were emancipated from standardization and transformed into community schools. Many now testify that farmer-ruled Denmark is leading the world in education and culture as in general prosperity. "The National Being," by A. E., is a little book that gives Ireland opportunity to surpass Denmark; such a contest might inaugurate a different imperialism.

Temporizing and planless, America balances farm and city by the Roman method, migration. It is a sure process and in the end must weigh every commendable gain of cities in wages, conditions of work, housing, educational advantages and all amenities. It must weigh the tariff, the funds to destroy co-operation, the draining of wealth without compensating benefactions, the standardization of institutions in country neighborhoods where community churches and community schools might be. Meanwhile, an exportable surplus of its products makes the hinterland negligible, as remote as Europe where all roads lead to the Green International.

C. F. Ansley.

THE STUDY TABLE

"The Church on the Avenue"

THE CHURCH ON THE AVENUE. By Helen R. Martin, published by Dodd, Mead & Co.

Ten, or even five years ago, this book of Mrs. Martin's would have made more of a stir than it will to-day. It comes when others have, like John the Baptist, "prepared the way."

Still it is always wise to remember that a vast number of people are just waking up and also that reiteration may convince where the first blast but terrifies.

The setting of Mrs. Martin's story in a small Pennsylvania capitalistic town is fortunate. In a large city the effect would have been different for churches on avenues in great cities have been up against the problem of attacks from Capital and Labor so long that they are not driven from their courses and their ministers are prepared to deal with the situation in a more definite manner than the minister of Mrs. Martin's book was.

He, poor man, took to the jungle of the non-committal and became lost. His clean, little conscience found solace in the idea that problems of actual life were no business of the church and Mrs. Martin actually makes one feel that her rector is really convinced of this and so he does not seem a cad or a sneaking coward, but just a lost sheep of Israel who hasn't the slightest idea that he *is* lost. He is one of the men who sees no difference between going around in a circle and going straight ahead to some new point—he feels that it is sufficient unto a man's soul if he—moves.

Round and round goes the minister of The Church on the Avenue. He whirls above, below, through the challenging problems and meets with the inevitable—he is flung into—space!

There is embryo humor in this smug little rector—he is a nice man, very good looking and sincerely in love with his wife who, while at first blinded by his physical charms and her love's young dream, still indicates that her motions are outward and groping—not circular.

The trouble begins when the college chum of the rector's wife is interjected into the scheme. This free lance and untrammelled young person is like a monkey wrench—there's no limit to her possibilities except that her lack of subtlety antagonizes the reader. She is like a child with a hammer smashing indiscriminately and making an awful noise. The trouble with this heroine is that she does not take time to aim but the conditions, in the stupid little town, are such, that no matter where she hits she lands on something that should be hit.

The minister of the Methodist church who has played a lone hand in the town until her arrival, naturally looks upon her advance and methods as God-sent.

And so here we have the two young women: the two ministers, the rich boss with his club of power; his vulgar wife; the cravens that always fall in line and the Awakened Conscience that rises like a star from the murk.

It is with the *star* that the interest of the book lies. The characters are lacking in originality: the theme is stupid and sordid, but there is always beauty and appeal in the action and reaction of awakened conscience. The wife of the minister of The Church on the Avenue comes to that dramatic moment of her life when she must choose her stand. On one hand stands love; pity; ease and the old lure of the relation of husband and wife. On the other, Right grimly demands recognition though old supports totter. Mrs. Martin does this part of her book well and convincingly and she makes a splendid case for the Community Church—the only church which to-day has any secure foundation, be it on the avenue or side alley.

To serve mankind and thus serve God. To fairly and squarely face everyday problems unafraid and unhampered, and so build souls.

This is Mrs. Martin's plea and it is made earnestly.

If there is a suggestion, in the sometimes too long dialogues, of getting something off the chest, there is also relief in the getting of it off. Every unloading of this sort gives promise of a time when "Mine and Thine" will be merged into "ours" and God will be found, not hidden in creeds and ceremonies but among his children where most he loves to be.

HARRIET T. COMSTOCK.

MY DEBT.

How dare I fail to do my best in every way I can to pay my debt—
The debt I owe to the world of which I am a part,
The debt which I could not fully pay in a thousand lifetimes!

There was never a thought honestly voiced by any human soul
Nor an earnest effort of the faithful anywhere
That has not helped to render possible these thoughts and efforts of mine.
I must try to pay my debt.

That there is anything of beauty and truth in what I can do
Is as much a part of the nature of things
As that a flower or a bird can give me unspeakable joy.
I must try to pay my debt.

Over the whole earth and from far down the ages
Humanity has struggled and suffered and fought its way,
Because of which world-wide and nearly incessant warfare
It is possible for me now to inhabit these moments of peace
And to discover in the Silence a Voice.
I must try to pay my debt.

My simple song of joy is the child of the travail of the world.
How long and faithfully mankind has wrought with blood and tears
To build the foundations of the faith on which now my soul rests!
I must try to pay my debt.

Not a cruelty or hardship was ever endured,
Not an error ever corrected nor a sin ever repented of,
Not an injury ever forgiven
That has not entered into and made strong and pure my compassionate love.
I must try to pay my debt.

Let me not dream for a moment of the possibility of any release.
However many lifetimes it may require or however much of discipline
I ask of Heaven only this: that I may pay my debt!

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

CORRESPONDENCE

Suggested Ways to Work for Permanent Peace

To the Editor of UNITY:

To the readers of UNITY who are specially interested in permanent peace I should like to suggest a way by which other persons might be aroused to take a more active interest.

As I look at the subject it seems to be the duty of every patriotic citizen to become a member of some peace association of which there are several well-organized and doing good and effective work. I do not mean the sort of peace society that would uphold and justify our government in the event of its declaration of, or entrance into, another war, but the sort that would resolutely oppose it—that would stick to its principles regardless of consequences.

The activities of such societies would be strengthened by additions to their membership lists; and to accomplish that I urge my suggestion which is that each person desirous of increasing the recruits in the forces of peace shall invite acquaintances and neighbors to his, or her, home to listen to a reading of special selections on war and peace. There is an amazingly large proportion of our people who are not acquainted with the vital facts on these subjects partly because they turn only to the daily papers for information and partly from lack of realizing the necessity for it; and the need is to get those facts to the knowledge of the many who do not take the trouble to investigate for themselves.

Turner's "Shall It Be Again?" Will Irwin's "The Next War," Gibbs's "More That Must Be Told," Gulick's "The Christian Crusade for a Warless World" and other books contain information that every intelligent adult should know yet the persons who read such volumes are a small minority. It would greatly help the broadcasting of such facts as are given in these and similar publications by accredited authorities if interested persons would carry out my suggestion. Invite as many as your living-room will conveniently hold and give them a program made up of portions that appeal to you. Any person of good intelligence ought to be able to read such a program satisfactorily.

A pleasant variety would be made by the reading of some poetical selections such as "Michael" by Robert Service or "Five Souls" by W. N. Ewer, but those would not be necessary for the presentation of such facts as one gets in hearing a speaker like Senator Borah, or Dr. John Haynes Holmes, or Jane Addams or Lucia Ames Mead, or the friends from other lands who have visited our shores to bring their messages. For those of us who cannot hear the speakers themselves would it not be a satisfaction to get their statements second-hand? They are warranted not to wear out from use!

Besides these books mentioned are numerous shorter selections like William Austin Smith's editorial "War Is Sin" in *The Churchman* of November, 1921, G. B. Shaw's "War Was a Failure," Mark Twain's invectives against war in Parts VI and VII of "The Mysterious Stranger" and his "War Prayer." There is plenty of material to choose from that should arouse the hearers to a sense of their responsibilities and duties in this matter.

In these columns I have previously pointed out that the definition of "patriot" is given in one standard dictionary: "One who loves his country and is devoted to it and its welfare." With that as a basis I consider the words "patriot" and "pacifist" as practically synonymous. A pacifist is of course unalterably opposed to war; and as war is the most destructive and baleful force that can be brought against one's country, invariably bringing other forces of injury and destruction in its wake, it would seem to follow logically that a true patriot, one of whose dominant desires must be to save his country from ruin (the unavoidable accompaniment of war) must be a pacifist.

To me the word country includes not merely its "rocks and rills" and "woods and templed hills," not merely the land and water that are contained within its boundary lines but its population and their prosperity. Anything that would undermine the prosperity of the people as well as what would devastate the soil must be regarded as a menace to be prevented by loyal patriots. That is why we need to increase as rapidly as possible the number of our staunch pacifists.

Get the facts—the truth—to the people! I have faith to believe that all that is needed is to let a flood of light on these subjects into the people's minds and they will instantaneously arouse to action. It is rumored that much concern is manifested in Washington over the swelling tide of pacifist sentiment throughout the land; and our press reports an army general as publicly denouncing "mushy pacifists." Mushy pacifists indeed! If anyone can tell me of a more invincible spirit than that of an out-and-out pacifist—I should like to know who possesses it! The signs of uneasiness at Washington should only encourage us to redouble our efforts. Let us grasp our advantage and work without ceasing till the disease is too great to be borne and the sufferers must perforce turn to the pacifist program for relief from their malady and begin to establish the world's affairs along lines that lead to sanity and peace.

Sincerely yours,

LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

PROGRAM

(Suggestive)

1. Prose selection—"War Is Sin"—editorial by Rev. William Austin Smith in the *Churchman*, November, 1921.
2. Prose selection from "The Next War"—Will Irwin. Chap. —, Pages ——.

   or

   Prose selection from "Now It Can Be Told"—Sir Philip Gibbs. Chap. —, Pages ——.
3. Poem—"Five Souls"—Ewer
4. "War Was a Failure"—George Bernard Shaw.
5. Selections from "War on War"—Campaign Textbook by F. J. Libby. Chap. I and III.

   or

   Selection from "Shall It Be Again?"—John Kenneth Turner.
6. Selection from "The Mysterious Stranger"—"Sheep"—Mark Twain. Portions on War, Parts VI and VII.
7. Poem—"Progress"—Marshall South. *American Mag.*, November, 1915.
8. Selection from "The Christian Crusade for a Warless World"—Sydney L. Gulick. Chap. VII, Pages 85-91; or entire chapter.
9. A Washington Fable—John Marvell.
10. "Michael"—R. W. Service.
11. Poem—"Disarmament"—John G. Whittier.
12. "Re-Armament"—M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

The above can easily be changed by substituting different selections for any one given. If a more modern poem is desired in place of Longfellow's, there are "Who Made the Law," "Michael" and others. There are plenty of things to choose from. "Michael" is by Robert W. Service. "Progress" was published in *The American Magazine*, November, 1915. Lines from "The Boy in Armor," Hagedorn.

Material is so abundant that choice as to the best is difficult.

Incredible Wisconsin

To the Editor of UNITY:

Incredible Wisconsin! Can you imagine this in any other state? A bill introduced in the legislature to destroy militarism, root and branch. It repeals every vestige of legislation relating to the state national guard and the naval militia. "It's just a freak bill introduced by a Socialist assemblyman named Polakowski," so said some of our newspapers. But no, the bill has been reported *favorably* by the assembly committee to which it was referred, after two hearings which drew out big crowds.

Its passage by the assembly is probable, but it may be killed in the senate. Here is some of the backing which the bill has: the Woman's State Progressive Association endorsed it at its state convention; the State Legislative Labor Conference endorsed it, and appointed a special committee to wait on the governor, and urged him to use his influence in favor of its passage, and to sign it if passed.

At the hearing a representative of the adjutant-general's department appeared and asked that an adjournment be taken as the department had been unable to get anybody to speak in opposition to the measure. The adjournment was refused. The leading argument in favor of the bill was made by the Lieutenant-governor, Geo. F. Comings. He said this country

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE INTERNATIONAL GOOD-WILL ASSOCIATION

"Disarmament of Minds" and World Peace

The above Association believes that disarmament of the mind must naturally precede physical disarmament. In a leaflet, which may be obtained from J. W. Hamilton, 147 Kent Street, St. Paul, Minn., are a number of suggestions which might well be followed by workers for peace.

1. Songs of Peace for children and adults.

2. A creed of Peace and Good Will for the children of all nations.

"I believe that the children of all nations should have the blessings which I enjoy and I salute them in peace and good will." (Writen by David Starr Jordan.)

3. An International Memorial Day, May 30th. This has been adopted by the Inter-Allied Veterans' Association, and has been taken up by the National Federation of Women's Clubs.

4. World Peace Postage. This is a permanent government postage stamp with distinctive peace design and motto, such as "Pax" or "Pax per Legen," to be issued in popular denominations by all nations for national and international postal use.

5. The Press Peace Plan. A plan to have the press of each nation reprint daily or weekly one of the kindly thoughts which each country expresses from time to time about that nation.

THE DEFINITION OF THE INTENATIONAL MIND.

6. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler has expressed in a wonderful sentence, the meaning of The International Mind. This has been printed on cards and translated into many languages for widespread distribution. Every national organization for peace and good will might well see that this card is distributed.

INTERNATIONAL MIND ALCOVES FOR LIBRARIES.

7. This also has been approved by Dr. Butler and is simply a few shelves set apart in every public library on earth where would be gathered books, papers and pamphlets on the subject of The International Mind and Peace and Good Will; each alcove having a sign in display type, "International Mind Alcove," and a framed copy of Dr. Butler's definition. More than 100 libraries in The Seven Nations have these alcoves. They might well be extended to every library in the world. The Carnegie Endowment will gladly send sets of books.

A GRAPHIC INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY EXCHANGE MAP.

8. Prepared every few years for widespread distribution in waiting rooms, libraries, public buildings of all kinds, schools and colleges, they would be a wonderful help in making the people of nearly every Nation realize their interdependence with respect to the principal commodities exchanged by the Nations.

THE INTERNATIONAL MIND MONTHLY.

9. A suggestion to consider the value of a magazine for wide distribution, which would be a clearing house of all new ideas in behalf of International Peace and Good Will. Brief outlines of these plans, repeated in various languages, would greatly help in spreading new ideas.

10. An organization of all international minded people who personally advocate at some effort, peace and international good will among men, so that there would be linked up throughout the world, groups in each nation who would act in concert along suggested lines.

11. An International Tariff Commission.

12. The Governments of the world to advertise peace.

13. A Peace exhibit.

14. The use of the cinema for the development of the international mind and world peace.

Do not fail to write for the full leaflet.

WAR BOOKS THAT ARE POPULAR NOW

Though as a class, war books recounting personal experiences at the front are absolutely dead, the interest in the few books which treat of the war in a critical or disillusioned spirit is continually growing. The Detroit *News* reports that in January, one of the books most in demand at the Public Library in Detroit was "Shall It Be Again?" by John Kenneth Turner, that challenge to the theory that America's participation in the war was a righteous exploit. The interest in this book in Detroit was given a fillip by the publicity that followed the dismissal of G. D. Eaton, a student, from all University of Michigan publications, for writing a review praising "Shall It Be Again?" (Huebsch). Mr. Turner's book is in its fourth printing; its continued sale is an evidence that the war is still a living issue.

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is developing a militaristic class (just as Germany did), supported by those who make huge fortunes out of war.

Mrs. E. C. Hoebel, representing the Madison Woman's Progressive Association, said the churches could not be depended upon to stop war propaganda, for they are "hotbeds of hate in war time."

Mr. Polakowski, the author of the bill, read from the La Follette Progressive platform passages denouncing war, militarism and its huge expenses, and asked if the platform meant what it said why should this bill not be passed. It will save over $600,000 each year which can well be used for the improvement of our rural schools.

One person only appeared in opposition to the bill, a woman, representing the D. A. R. If this bill passes, what shall we do with our armories and all our military equipment? A sign in front of the National Guard Headquarters in Madison says, "Join the National Guard, $5-$10 per month, drill evenings once a week." Similar signs are coming down all over the state.*

CHESTER C. PLATT.

An Important Book

Heyden, via S.S. Marie, Ont.

Editor of UNITY.

Permit me to call your attention to a book which I think is sufficiently important to merit a review or criticism in your columns—"At One with the Invisible," by the Rev. Stubborn Holdback.

I have often thought that we as a people were not on sufficiently intimate terms with the things invisible in our world. The study of microbes under the microscope and investigations into the means of destroying them were indeed pursued steadily and successfully by men of science during the latter half of the 19th century, but I do not think that the knowledge thus obtained ever became sufficiently familiar to the masses. Much less did knowledge concerning invisible natural forces, such as light, heat and electricity. Works like Prof. John Tyndall's "History of Ethereal Science," and Prof. Knock's "Invisible Forces Available to Man," were never sufficiently popularized. To what extent Mr. Holdback's work supplies this long felt want is, I think, a question worthy of examination.

Yours truly,

W. A. COUTTS.

*On February 20, Mr. Polakowski's bill passed the Assembly, 66 to 16.—Editor.

Armenian Refugees

Editor, UNITY:

As you know, the Allied Commissioners in Constantinople, owing to the menacing situation there, have decided to waive all passport regulations so as to allow Armenians and Greeks a safe departure from Turkey. This exodus, forced by the Kemalist occupation, will compel thousands of Armenians to leave behind them their homes and property and embark for destinations unknown. This will expose them to dangers and hardships of every description. We are assured that many of these unfortunate exiles would be gladly taken care of by their relatives and countrymen in the United States, if only it were possible to secure their admittance here by means of a temporary or emergency measure, the present immigration law precluding any such accommodation.

Could not these people be admitted here not as immigrants but as refugees? And will you not recommend some such measure to the consideration of Congress as soon as it convenes? It would be an act of mercy which could not but win the approval of the American people.

We have the honor to remain,

Respectfully yours,

THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA.
G. H. PAPAZIAN, *Secretary*.

A lawyer thus illustrates the language of his craft: "If a man were to give another an orange, he would simply say: 'Have an orange.' But when the transaction is intrusted to a lawyer to be put in writing he adopts this form: 'I hereby give and convey to you, all and singular, my estate and interests, right, title, claim and advantages of and in said orange, together with all its rind, juice, pulp and pips, and all rights and advantages therein, with full power to bite, cut, suck and otherwise to eat the same or give the same away with or without the rind, skin, juice, pulp or pips, anything hereinbefore or hereinafter or in any other means of whatever nature or kind whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.'

"And then another lawyer comes along and takes it away from you."—*Boston Globe.*

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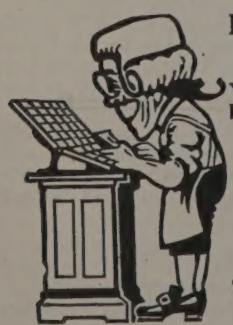

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